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THE ROLE OF MUSIC
IN THE CREATION OF AN
AFGHAN NATIONAL IDENTITY,
1923-73

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Issues of cultural identity will constitute some of the major problems confronting humanity in the 21st century. In various parts of the world we see heterogeneous political entities of various sizes - from large empires to relatively small countries - disintegrating into their constituent parts. We become increasingly aware of the extraordinary tenacity of this phenomenon we call 'culture', and the way its meaning and importance persist for the culture bearers.

Afghanistan may be taken as a classic example of this process. Confronted with the cultural and political fragmentation that have occurred since the Marxist putsch of 1978 one wonders what kind of unity ever prevailed in the past. What was it that held this country of 15 million people together? Was it a unity that was imposed and maintained by force, or was there a degree of social consensus? And if one can identify the processes that gave political cohesion in the past, how can they be revived, assuming that that is the best outcome for the people of Afghanistan?

Does the study of music in Afghanistan tell us anything specific about these issues? Arguably it does. Following a line of inquiry initiated by Mark Slobin - who conducted extensive fieldwork in the late 1960s (see his monograph Music in the Culture of Northern Afghanistan) - I shall attempt to demonstrate that music certainly 'illuminates patterns of inter-ethnic contact' (Slobin 1976:CHECK), reveals a good deal about the dynamic processes involved in the gradual emergence of a national identity in Afghanistan during the period in question, and ~~perhaps~~ played a part as an agent for creating that identity.

1. MUSIC AND IDENTITY.

Certain kinds of 'explanation' in ethnomusicology are couched in terms of analytical concepts and arguments about music and social and/or cultural identity (often termed 'ethnic identity'). Music and identity are seen to be linked.



in Martin Stokes (ed.), Music, Ethnicity and Identity, the Musical Construction of Place. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 45-60, 1994

Ideas of this kind are frequently offered as explanations of why a particular social group - a community, a population, a nation - seems to hang on to outmoded and seemingly irrelevant musical practices.

The most interesting and characteristically human features of music are not stylistic change and individual variations in performance, but non-change and the repetition of carefully rehearsed passages of music. It is truly remarkable that anyone in 1977 should want to perform or listen to Mozart, or Khyal, or Wayang, long after the circumstances that gave rise to these genres have passed.
(Blacking 1977:7).

Although Blacking was addressing problems of musical change, the 'ethnic identity' hypothesis could be invoked to explain 'the repetition of carefully rehearsed passages of music'; indeed, an explanation couched in these terms for the continued patronage of European art music has been given by Small (CHECK), who argues that the symphony concert is a ritual re-enactment of middle class values which serves to preserve a middle class identity. The same kind of argument is often put forward to explain why immigrant groups in large multi-cultural cities such as New York are often found to cling tenaciously to their so-called 'traditional musics'.

NEED~SOME QUOTES HERE FROM PAPERS ON MUSIC AND ETHNICITY IN NEW YORK. RAY ALLEN ET AL.

We are dealing here with a species of functionalist theory; the function of music in this situation is to provide and preserve identity, and so to promote the perseverance of the social groups concerned. In his exhaustive discussion of the function of music in society, Merriam does not talk about cultural, social or ethnic identity as such, though it is implicit in his treatment of music and the integration of society (Merriam 1964:226-7).

Similar ideas have been put forward by Lomax, and a specific mechanism described:

The child begins to learn the musical style of his culture as he acquires the language and the emotional patterns of his people. This style is thus an important link between an individual and his culture, and later in life brings back to the adult unconscious the emotional texture of the world which formed his personality. Thus from the point of view of its social function, the primary effect of music

is to give the listener a feeling of security, for it symbolizes the place where he was born, his earliest childhood satisfactions, his religious experience, his pleasure in community doings, his courtship and his work - any or all of these personality-shaping experiences.
(Lomax 1959:929)

A rather different approach to questions of ethnicity regards ethnic identity as something that may be invoked by individuals in particular circumstances when it suits their purposes and seems likely to help them attain their goals. This is the kind of view Slobin draws on in his book, quoting from Barth:

Ethnic categories provide an organizational vessel that may be given varying amounts and forms of content in different socio-cultural systems. They may be of great relevance to behaviour, but they need not be; they may pervade all social life, or they may be relevant only in limited sectors of activity. There is thus an obvious scope for ethnographic and comparative descriptions of different forms of ethnic organization.
(Barth 1969:14)

Barth argued that 'Ethnic boundaries are maintained in each case by a limited set of cultural features' (ibid:38). Slobin (1976:1) suggests 'music may be one of those features of social interrelationship that reflect underlying patterns of ethnic boundary maintenance'. I am not sure why Slobin wants music to reflect underlying patterns of ethnic boundary maintenance. Of course, music may be indicative of wider socio-cultural processes, conforming to a pattern, but it may also be used in a more active manner. The point is surely that music is itself a potent symbol of ethnic identity; like language (and attributes of language such as accent and dialect), it is one of those aspects of culture which can, when the need to assert 'ethnic identity' arises, most readily serve this purpose. Its effectiveness may be twofold; not only does it act as a ready means for the identification of different ethnic or social groups, but it has potent emotional connotations and can express ethnic identity in a particularly powerful manner. The question is how music is used to assert and negotiate such identities?

2. CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN AFGHANISTAN.

Afghanistan would seem to be typical of many modern countries with linguistic and cultural diversity, whose boundaries were drawn up by colonial powers. Afghanistan was established in 1747 by Afghan tribesmen from Kandahar who had for several generations been elite mercenaries in the Iranian army. Although invaded by British troops in 1842 and 1879 and again attacked in 1919, Afghanistan was never the colony of a European power. It was the buffer between the Russian and British empires, though the British did control its foreign policy throughout much of the nineteenth century. Its borders were finalised to the north and south-east by treaties with Russia and Britain respectively, leaving local populations cut in two by artificial barriers, sowing the seeds of future problems.

The term gaum is of some consequence for the present discussion. Qaum refers to consanguinal social groups of varying size; for example, to an ethnic group, such as Pashtuns, Tajiks or Hazaras, or to a tribe, lineage, or clan, or simply to families with whom inter-marriage can reasonably be contemplated due to putative common ancestry. The term Qaum-e Afghan refers to the people of Afghanistan, irrespective of ethnic or other grouping, and was something of a slogan of government propaganda.

NEED EXAMPLE OF POPULAR SONG TEXT THAT REFERS TO QAUM-E AFGHAN.

The two principal gaums (in the sense of 'ethnic' groups) inhabiting Afghanistan are Pashtuns (the 'true Afghans') and Tajiks, Persian speaking agriculturalists and townspeople. The country has been dominated politically since its creation by the Pashtuns, who make up about half the population, while the Tadjiks amount to 2 or 3 million (these are pre-war figures). Both groups were extended over much of the territory of Afghanistan, with the Pashtun heartland being in the south-east, and Pashtuns having recently migrated to many parts previously controlled by other groups. Provinces near Kabul, such as Parwan to the north and Wardak and Logar to the southwest are notable for having mixed Pashtun-Tadjik populations. In addition to these two there are a number of other smaller groups: Uzbeks, Hazaras, Pashai, Turkmen, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Baluch, Ismaili, Aimaq, Nuristanis, and others, usually restricted to specific regions of the country. The Afghan royal family were Persianised Pashtuns, who by the twentieth century hardly spoke Pashto. Persian was the language of the court and of the administration.

The various gaums (~~ethnic groups, or nationalities~~) inhabiting Afghanistan obviously differed in language, and

you have it above.

some other aspects of culture. Each had a sense of its own cultural identity. In contrast, there were many factors they shared, principally Islam. There were divisions into Shia and Sunni branches, but these were not completely correlated with ethnic identity. They shared a common 'Persian culture', partly in having Persian as a lingua franca, but also a pattern of settlement and modes of production and material culture. This ranged from pastoral nomadism (especially of Pashtuns), through agriculturalism heavily reliant on irrigation and control of water supply, to mercantilism in the extensive bazaars of large pre-industrial cities (English 1973), linked by caravan routes. There was little modern industry, but many cottage industries like those of Persian cities in the 1920s (Wulff 1966). Despite the medieval look of the place there was a lot more going on in terms of modernization and modernism than might appear.

'A principal theme in the political history of Afghanistan has been the effort to create a unified nation-state' (Poullada 1973). The 'nation-state' is a eurocentric concept but may still be usefully applied in this case, for that was the model that Afghan rulers sought to emulate. Two factors hindered this development in the 19th century. Firstly, conflicts within and between the dominant Pashtun tribes prevented the emergence of Afghanistan as a state. For example, rivalry between the Sadozai and Mohammadzai sections of the ruling Durrani tribe meant that western Afghanistan was a more or less autonomous region for about 60 years in the nineteenth century. Secondly, the number of different 'ethnic' groups inhabiting the territory, with different languages, and to some extent different cultures, has hindered the 'development' of the people into a single nation.

Afghanistan did not begin to emerge as a 'nation-state' until the 1880s, under Amir Abdur Rahman. By building a powerful regular army which could confront the tribes, Abdur Rahman was able to bring the whole of the country under the control of Kabul. It is clear that Afghanistan was created and maintained by force. In the 1920s, under the enlightened and modernising rule of Amanullah, it seems that Atatürk's Turkey served as a political model. Amanullah's uncle and father-in-law, Sardar Mohammad Tarzi, had lived much of his life in exile in Turkey and returned to Afghanistan when Amanullah came to the throne with many ideas about how to bring about social change and modernisation by decree, like Atatürk.

3. SLOBIN'S NOTION OF THE 'SHARED MUSIC CULTURE'

Slobin's research in Afghan Turkestan, a culturally diverse area shared principally by Tajiks and Uzbeks, has

already been mentioned. Slobin claimed that the aim of his study was to focus on music as it illuminates patterns of inter-ethnic contact. He is perhaps most convincing when discussing the interaction of Persian and Uzbek language and other aspects of culture in half-a-dozen regions of what was then Soviet Central Asia, where he is able to draw on extensive researches by Soviet scholars. Here he certainly shows that musical interactions conform to patterns established in other cultural domains. But the development of his argument to northern Afghanistan is rather disappointing.

He shows that northern teahouse music was a genre shared by Uzbeks and Tajiks. Teahouse music consisted essentially of the singing of quatrains, accompanied by the dambura (long-necked lute), zirbāghali (goblet-shaped pottery drum) and tal (small cymbals). The song texts were in either Uzbek or Tajik, and it was common to alternate quatrains in the two languages. The mixed audience, probably bilingual - and possibly multilingual - was able to participate in the cultural inter-play at work here, in a social arena where male members of the two communities interacted. Slobin did not analyse these issues in any detail. He did not elicit actors' views and elucidate individual interpretations and manipulations of performance events, nor show how the song/music style might be a combination of Uzbek and Tajik elements. He did not consider how the shared music culture might symbolise or otherwise express other aspects of the shared culture. What does it mean when two culturally distinct communities come to share the same music?

The answers to some of these questions are suggested in another publication in which Slobin discusses the role of radio in Afghan musical life.

Radio Afghanistan is one of the few unifying factors in a country unusually marked by ethnic and linguistic fragmentation... For the Afghan villager or nomad... the radio has drastically reduced the restrictions on the scope of his imagination... he shares in the music of the Kabul studio, one of the few manifestations of an emerging pattern of national values and expression that may eventually comprise a pan-ethnic, distinctively Afghan society. (Slobin 1974:248)

4. THE CHARACTER OF AFGHAN NATIONAL MUSIC

Afghanistan is surrounded by countries - such as Iran, Uzbekistan and North India (including Pakistan) - whose inhabitants claim considerable antiquity for their art musics.

To a large extent their music histories are supported by contemporary documents and scientific treatises. For Afghanistan there is very little in the way of documentation, and the musical past is open to speculation and assertion. Afghan experts on music claim common ownership of Hindustani music. They maintain that what we know today as 'Indian music' originated in Balkh, 'the mother of cities', whose ruins lie in northern Afghanistan, and was carried to India by Amir Khosrow Balkhi, an important Sufi and literary figure at the Delhi court of the CHECK SULTANS, who is credited with a number of innovations in Indian music, such as the invention of the sitar, the tabla, and the musical genre of qawwali. In the Afghan view, music progressed and developed in the more tolerant culture of India, where the mullahs had less control over people's lives. Recently, Hindusthani music had been brought back to Afghanistan. The Moghuls also enter into this history, having conquered much of North India from Afghanistan. Babur, the first Moghul emperor, is buried in Kabul. This version of Afghan music history takes into account the fact that there are indubitably strong links between the two regions (as the development of the Afghan rubab into the Indian sarod illustrates). It is also clear that the court music of the Afghan amirs (originally in Kandahar, moving to Kabul in 1776) was predominantly Indian music. Amir Sher Ali Khan is acknowledged to have brought a number of Indian court musicians to Kabul in the 1860s (see Baily 1988:25).

Whatever the facts about the far distant history of music in Afghanistan, there is little doubt that in the twentieth century a pan-Afghan national music came into being. These genres, which include what one might want to label art and popular musics, are sometimes termed by Afghans musiqi-ye melli, 'national music'. What is the relationship between the creation of these genres of national music and the emergence of an Afghan national identity? Once we start looking at this national music in terms of constituent elements we start to discover some interesting relationships, especially in terms of regional, or ethnic, origins. Specifically, we seem to be dealing with three constituent elements, which we can label: Pashtun, Tajik and Hindusthani (North Indian courts). National music synthesised elements of the music cultures of the two main ethnic groups in Afghanistan, 'systematised' and 'improved' in the light of Hindustani theory and practice.

4.1 The instrumentarium

The instrumentarium of Afghan national music is mixed. The typical Pashtun ensemble consists of a singer, usually (self)accompanied by harmonium, rubab (plucked lute), sarinda

(bowed lute), and dholak (double headed barrel drum). Some interesting transformations of and additions to this model in the creation of the typical urban ensemble can be noted, consisting of vocal with harmonium, rubab, tabla, with the optional addition of long necked lutes such as the tanbur and Herati dutar, and bowed lutes such as the sarangi and delruba.

The Afghan rubab is the national instrument of Afghanistan. A short-necked plucked lute, with two sound chambers and sets of drone and sympathetic strings, this is the ancestor of the Indian sarod. The origins of the Afghan rubab are unclear but it seems appropriate to regard it as the the Pashtun regional instrument par excellence, used both to accompany singing and as a solo instrument (with drum accompaniment). The presence of this instrument in the ensemble symbolises the 'Afghanness' of the music.

The tabla and harmonium have been introduced from India. The tabla probably arrived in Afghanistan in the mid-nineteenth century, the harmonium around the turn of the century. According to Bor (CHECK) the harmonium was adopted in India as a substitute for the sarangi, providing the same sustained sound. In one sense one might argue that that the harmonium was adopted to replace the sarinda, which unlike the rubab remained an instrument of regional music. The harmonium is arguably a symbol of modernity, an instrument which worked acoustically in a totally new way (being a free reed aerophone) and which was constructed like a machine, with its levers, springs and stops. The sarinda was most obviously replaced in the urban ensemble by Indian bowed lutes such as the sarangi and the delruba.

The Afghan tanbur was also sometimes added. This is a large long necked lute with sets of drone and sympathetic strings, seemingly dating from the early nineteenth century (Slobin CHECK). It is characteristic of Parwan, a mixed Pashtun-Tadjik region to the north of Kabul, whose local music bears many of the characteristics of the prototype of Afghan national music. In the western region of Herat we find the recent development of the 14 stringed Herati dutar in the mid-1960s (Baily 1976). The dutar, the Heratis' own instrument, represented the 'voice' of Herat (literally) in the urban ensemble, a symbol of the role of Herat as an integral part of Afghanistan.

4.2 The Afghan ghazal at the court of Amanullah

The ghazal is one of the principal forms in Persian poetry, consisting of a series of couplets was a particular rhyme scheme. The term ghazal also indicates a musical form



for the singing of this kind of poetry. This form is characterised by a type of cyclical organisation with fast instrumental sections interpolated between units of text. It would appear that the current musical form for singing ghazals was perfected in Kabul in 1920s, when it became the principal genre of vocal art music in Afghanistan. The Kabuli ghazal generally uses Persian texts, often from the great poets of the Persian language such as Hafez, Sadi, and Bedil, set in Hindusthani rags and tals. The fast, even frenetic, tempos of instrumental sections and prominent use of emphatic rhythmic cadences are features can be linked with Pashtun music. The successful ghazal singer needs to have a deep knowledge of poetry. The art of ghazal singing depends on the interpolation of apposite couplets from other poems, often sung in free rhythm, a kind of singing which is characteristic of Persian avaz, and also manifest in the vocal genre called chaharbeiti, typical of Tadjik regional music.

The principal ustad (master musician) at the Kabuli court in the 1920s was Ustad Qasem, whose father came from Kashmir, a former Afghan possession. Ustad Qasem was the master of ghazal singing, combining a deep knowledge of Persian poetry with a broad training in Hindusthani music. He rose to fame for the patriotic ghazals he performed at the independence celebrations in 1919, songs which became part of every subsequent Independence Day. Known as 'The Father of Afghan music' he is described as the first Afghan musician to separate Afghan music from Indian music. He enjoyed a close personal friendship with King Amanullah, who addressed him as Qasem Jan, a very familiar Afghan title reserved for intimate friends. When Amanullah visited Europe in 1927-8 he took with him a collection of Ustad Qasem's gramophone records, which he listened to nostalgically whenever he had time (Reshtia) ← *reference?*

4.3 Afghan popular music (Kiliwali)

Another genre of Afghan national music is kiliwali. This Pashto term, meaning 'local', has come to refer to a variety of types of popular music disseminated by the radio station. The song texts of this repertoire are usually in Dari (the official term for Afghan Persian) or Pashto. Many songs broadcast in the kiliwali repertory were local folk songs either brought by provincial singers to the station, or actually collected by station staff from different parts of the country. In this way many of the folksongs of Afghanistan were given a new lease of life by the radio broadcasting (see Baily 1981).

The musical style of kiliwali is clearly based on Pashtun music. This is most clearly manifest in choice of melodic modes (Bairami, Pari and Kesturi) and in rhythmic features like the use of accelerating instrumental sections and pronounced rhythmic cadences. The genre known as chaharbeiti shomali, which originates from the ethnically mixed Parwan region (Pashtuns and Tadjiks) shows the mixture of Pashtun and Tadjik elements very clearly. The vocal sections are sung in Persian, in the free rhythm that typified much unaccompanied chaharbeiti singing in Afghanistan. The instrumental sections, in contrast, are Pashtun dance music of the kind known as Logari. (Baily 1988 Example 7 provides an illustration of these points.) The regional music of Parwan and other mixed Pashtun-Tadjik areas may well have provided the models on which the new national popular music broadcast by the radio station was built.

What this shows is that the contemporary musical 'style' of Afghanistan is a synthesis of distinct cultural items from different sources. Is there any way in which we can understand how these elements were put together which relates to other political, economic and social trends in Afghanistan during this period?

5. THE CREATION OF AN AFGHAN NATIONAL IDENTITY

In the 1930s a nationalist trend became clearly discernable in Afghanistan. According to Reshtia, 'The nationalist movement was a deliberate initiative which originated in 1935-6.' Gregorian (1969) gives an account of the arguments put forward by nationalist writers of the time. They recognised that one of Afghanistan's problems was its 'ethnic' diversity, and the nationalists were preoccupied with establishing a common history, religious background, and ethnic origin for all the peoples of Afghanistan, claiming that they were descended from the same Aryan stock. The Pashto language was given great importance in this nationalist ideology, and it was only in this period that Pashto became an official language of the country, along with Dari. It was argued that Afghanistan needed the development of a modern national culture.

Many urged that Afghanistan's folklore and traditional music be collected, and called for the development of a new literature reflecting both the nation's historical legacy and its present social realities, needs and aspirations. Poets and writers were exhorted to see themselves as vehicles of social change and their role as the awakening of the Afghan people.

(Gregorian 1969:349)

5.1 Radio Broadcasting and Afghan national music

A brief consideration of the history of radio broadcasting from Kabul sheds some light on the way music may have served to foster nationalism. Radio broadcasting from Kabul has been of crucial importance in the creation and dissemination of Afghan national music. In the late 1940s the radio station took over from the royal court as the main patron of musicians and institutional sponsor of new developments in music. Music has had little institutional basis in Afghanistan: music was not part of the school curriculum; and there was no department of music at Kabul University. There had been occasional attempts to set up a music schools, none endured. The radio station became the main government-sponsored centre for musical activity. It employed most of the important musicians in the country, falling into several categories: Afghan ustads from hereditary musician families well versed in the theory and practice of Hindustani music; middle class amateurs, often employed as middle level managerial staff; and regional virtuosos, experts in various folk music styles from around the country. Thus the radio station served as an educational institution, sponsoring music courses of various kinds. There was also a music training programme in the Afghan army, under the direction of a Turkish bandmaster, Farrukh Effendi.

Radio broadcasting in Afghanistan was initiated in 1925 during the reign of Amanullah. For a few years radio achieved a small breakthrough, with a 5 K.W. station and an estimated 1,000 receiving sets in Kabul in 1928. The medium of radio had some role in disseminating and popularising the new Kabuli ghazal style of Ustad Qassem. After the reaction against social reform and modernism that followed the deposition of Amanullah in 1929, when the radio station was deliberately destroyed, there was no serious attempt to resume radio transmissions until 1936. Radio Kabul began experimental broadcasts in 1939 and was officially opened the following year. The stated aims of the radio station were to spread the message of the Holy Koran, to reflect the national spirit, to perpetuate the treasures of Afghan folklore, and to contribute to public education. According to Reshtia, the government saw radio as the best and quickest way to communicate to and inform the population of its policies and development programmes.

During World War II broadcasting was seriously hampered by difficulties in obtaining new equipment or spares from Germany. An effective broadcasting service that could be received in most parts of the country was not established until the late 1940s. In the early days, ownership of radio receivers was very limited (partly due to non-availability of

mains electricity and the expense of batteries for portable radios), and to ensure the dissemination of radio broadcasts receiver appliances were set up in a number of cities linked to loudspeaker systems in their main streets. They broadcast the news, music, and other programmes, to a predominantly male audience in public places. This project was launched in 1940 and completed by 1945 in the main provincial towns (Reshtia, personal communication).

The buildings of Kabul Radio were located on the edge of the old city, not far from Kucheh Kharabat, the musicians' quarter, so as to be within easy range of its musical personal. The musicians' quarter in turn had been established near to the Bala Hisar, the fortified royal palace, so that the court musicians who lived there were in easy reach of the palace. In the late 1950s the name of the station was changed to Radio Afghanistan (Reshtia), and in the 1960s a new radio station was built in the outskirts of Kabul. The new location of the radio station, halfway between the airport and the city, proved to be of military significance in the Soviet invasion of 1979.

Afghan popular music originated partly in response to the need to create a music suitable for radio broadcasting. The new music was created by bringing together a number of elements, Persian texts, Pashtun musical style, and Hindustani theoretical concepts and terminology. The development of Afghan popular music (kiliwali) took place with the assistance of the ustads, the descendants of Indian court musicians. Their knowledge of Hindustani music theory and terminology was important in organising small ensembles and large orchestras at the radio station. The ustads had high standards of performance, and played a key role in training musicians, professionals and amateurs. They can be likened to foreign experts who had the technical expertise necessary to help the Afghans upgrade and improve their music. In this way their role anticipated that of American, Russian, and other music advisers brought to the station in the 1960s, and their contribution seems to have been much more acceptable to the Afghans and to have been altogether more successful than the efforts of the Western experts (Slobin 1974:244-245). Both Ustad Qasem and particularly Ustad Gholam Husain played a major role in the development and teaching of modern Afghan music at the radio station and provided a link between the 1920's and the 1940's.

6. CONCLUSIONS

It is clear from the data discussed above that music certainly played some role in expressing and even creating an Afghan national identity. The obvious question to arise at this point concerns the intentionality behind the process. To what extent can one talk about the architects of this national music? Or was it the unforeseen result of other kinds of planning and decision process? According to Reshtia one must incline to the latter interpretation. The 'role of music' in the creation of an Afghan national identity was an unintentional one. The controllers of radio broadcasting had their own agenda, and could not predict in detail the results of their actions. A broad goal was defined with no clear idea of how to achieve it. Perhaps it was the musicians' own perspectives on Afghan identity that are of interest. The music of Parwan constituted a natural prototype ^{since} it already combined Tajik and Pashtun elements. Afghan popular music can be understood as an extension and development of this regional style.

Finally, we return to our original questions about the cultural and political fragmentation that has occurred in Afghanistan since 1978. If one can identify the processes that gave political cohesion in the past, how can they be revived? Music seems curiously static in the present conflict. There has been little in the way of innovation since the beginning of the war, just changes in lyrics. This is in seemingly marked contrast relative to the situation in the 1920s and 1940s-50s, where musical change can be connected with wider aspects of socio-musical change. Afghan musical culture, both inside and outside the country, seems to have become frozen in the state it was when the refugees left in their millions. Afghan refugees in Pakistan and Iran were strongly discouraged from even listening to music, while the refugees who managed to get to Europe and America were to a large extent deprived access to their traditional instruments except for the harmonium and tabla. Those who remained in Afghanistan suffered a crisis of identity as the balance of power between Marxists and Mujahideen waxed and waned. The old ways were the safe ways. And this provides another reason why people should want to perform or listen to genres of music long after the circumstances that gave rise to these genres have passed. ^{which now deal with ... ?}

FOOTNOTES

(1) The fieldwork on which this article is based was conducted between 1973 and 1977, mainly in the provincial city of Herat, situated near the Iranian border, and in Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan. Some of the data and ideas discussed here have been published in Baily (1988). I did not specifically focus of issues of 'identity' in my research, and there are many areas where the inadequacies of my data are only too apparent. However, some of these deficiencies are compensated for by the help given to me by the Afghan historian Professor S.Q.Reshtia, who had the unique experience of being the director of Radio Kabul during a crucial period between CHECK DATES. In 1985 and 1987 he was kind enough to read and offer copious comments on drafts of several sections of my book. Overall he confirmed the description I had given as correct, and offered many new pieces of information, some of which is included here for the first time. I wish to thank Professor Reshtia for his help, kindness, and enthusiasm for what I had written.

'In your previous letter you asked my opinion about the effect of radio broadcasting in enhancing the national sentiments among the Afghans. I fully agree with you adding that the radio played and still is playing a more important role in this field, more than all other efforts made by the Afghan government in achieving this vital goal. With this confirmation I assure you that your book will be considered by the Afghan intellectuals as a great service to our culture' (Reshtia p.c. 14.5.87)

(2) The relation of music to the creation of an Afghan national identity is only one part of a wider pattern of musical change (discussed at length in Baily 1988) that intersects with certain patterns of social, political and economic change that are facets of the processes of modernism and modernisation. The dates 1923-73 have been selected because they span the modern era of Afghan history. Amanullah came to the throne in 1919, and by 1923 his programme of reform and modernisation was well in place. 1973, 50 years later, was the year when the king Zaher Shah was deposed and the Republic of Afghanistan set up. It was also the year when I began my fieldwork in western Afghanistan.



